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AN EARLY HOMILY ON THE "BODY AND SOUL"
THEME.

I.

One of the most primitive forms of the "Address of the Soul to the Body" that are known is the Latin prose vision published by Batiouchkof¹ from a Roman manuscript of the 11th or 12th century. This vision, as Batiouchkof shows, is one of the important sources for later versions of the Body and Soul legend.² Definitely related to this version, moreover, are two Old English homilies in prose, one of which has been edited by Thorpe³, the other by Napier.⁴ The close likeness between these Old English homilies, and their resemblance to Batiouchkof's text, Zupitza has exhibited by ranging the three versions in parallel columns⁵.

Beside these versions I wish to place a Latin homily which contains this vision in a form similar to those already noted. This homily, Sermo 69 of the *Sermones ad Fratres in Eremo*,⁶ was pointed out to me by Dr. Carleton F. Brown, of Bryn Mawr College, who suggested that I study its relations to the other versions, and its place in the Body and Soul literature.

The evidence that Sermo 69 represents an early version of the Body and Soul theme is to be gathered entirely from a study of its relation to the other three (avowedly early) versions, for, so far as I can learn, neither the name of its author nor the date of its composition is known. The *Sermones ad Fratres in Eremo*, of which Sermo 69 is one, appear to have been collected under this title at a comparatively recent date. According to the

¹ *Romania*, Vol. xx, pp. 576 ff.

² *Romania*, Vol. xx, pp. 1 ff., pp. 513 ff.

³ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Folio Ed. pp. 466 ff.; Octavo Ed., Vol. II, pp. 396-401.

⁴ *Wulfstan: Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilien*, pp. 140 ff.

⁵ *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol. xci, p. 369 ff.

⁶ *Migne, Patrologia Latina*, Vol. xl, cols. 1355-7.

editors of Migne⁷ (who are, however, tantalizingly vague in their discussion of the matter) the collection of these sermons is, apparently, to be ascribed to Jordanus de Saxonia, who died in the year 1380. The age of the individual sermons, however, is not determined by the date of the collection, for many of them are a great deal older. The sermon in question is manifestly one of these older homilies as indeed the editors of Migne have remarked.*

Sermo 69 (S 69)

Batiouchkof (B)

Fratres dilectissimi, quando orare vultis, aut peccata vestra plangere, claudite ostium super vos, et orate Dominum Deum vestrum in toto corde. Tunc respiciens Dominus super vos, propitius ac pius vobis erit, quasi pia mater filio suo, dum eum dolentem et plorantem reperit. Haec, charissimi, in cordibus vestris scribite, et intelligite. Et qui non intelligunt, eos qui rationabiliter sapiunt, interrogent. Acquirite vobis, dilectissimi, thesaurum coelestem, mundi hujus postpositis vanitatibus: attendentes et valde timentes quoddam exemplum horribile,

1. quod quidam homo sanctus

Cum divinorum miraculorum, fratres karissimi, representatio nostre humilitatis ac bonitatis sit informatio,

1. audiamus quid Macaris qui curam gerebat animarum in Alexandria, quibusdam verba faciens, se a quodam fratre monacho in excessu mentis posito audisse peribetur.

in excessu mentis positus vidit, et audivit de quadam anima de Aegypto exeunte, et contra corpus suum contendente.

⁷ *Admonitio*, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* Vol. xL, cols. 1233-6.

* Note to Sermo 69: *Sermonum priorum stilum sapit.*

In order to place the relations of the four versions clearly before the reader it will be necessary to repeat the parallel columns with the addition of this homily. The parallel begins and ends with the vision itself; the introductions and conclusions, though they are conventional homiletical exhortations, differ widely.

For the sake of convenience, I have followed Zupitza's numbering in the division of the sections.

Thorpe (T)	Napier (N)
<p>Ēala men þā lēofestan, hwā is æfre swā heardre heortan, þæt hē ne maege wēpan þā tōweardan wītu and him þā ondrædan ? Hwaet is ūs, lā, sēlre on þisse weorolde, þonne wē symble ūre synna hrēowe don and hī mid aelmessan lȳsan, þæt wē þurh þā aelmessan þā êcan tintrega magon genesan; for þon þe þeos worold gewīt and ealle, þā þe on hyre synd?</p>	<p>Nū, lēofan men, hwā is æfre, þæt haebbe swā hearde heortan, þæt hē ne maege him ondrædon þā tōweardan wītu? Hwaet is ūs, lā, sēlre, þonne wē ealne weg ūre synna bēton and hī mid aelmessan georne ālȳson, forðām þe þeos woruld āteorað and ealle þā þing, þe on hyre syndon?</p>

* * *
* * *

1. Magon wē nū gehȳran secgan
be suman hālgan men, sē waes
on gāstlice gesyhðe gelæded.

1. Sum hālig man waes
gelæd on gesyhðe.

Sermo 69

2. Erat enim homo iste, de
cujus anima fit ad praesens
mentio, corpore fecundus valde,
et audivit de quadam anima de
imū: et in tali corporis et
rerum prosperitate positus ni-
hil aliud cogitabat, nisi cuncta
quae poterat perficere mala;
nec quidquam de animae suae
salute tractans, totus
vixit in peccatis. Accidit ut
infirmirate laborans, morti
appropinquaret. Et ecce spir-
itus illius ad ostium corporis
pulsans terrore ac moerore per-
maxime concussus admodum
exire tardabat; quia diabolos
ante se praeparatos videbat,
3. ac inter se mussitare dicen-
tes: Quomodo tardatur? Cur
fit hoc? Quare facit tot moras?
Festinemus; forsitan Michael
cum sociis suis oppriment nos,
ac animam illam nobis tollent,
quam per multos annos vincu-
lis nostris constrinximus.
4. Tunc unus ex diabolis re-
spondens dixit: Nolite timere,
nostra est; ego opera ejus scio,
ego semper cum illo diebus ac
noctibus fui.
5. Haec illa anima misera
audiens, dixit:

Batiouchkof

2. Erat quidam dives nimis

qui quantum divitiis habun-
dabat tantum sceleribus ex-
uberabat. Hic vite suae finis
videns esse accessum tandem
se talia commisisse
pertimuit.

Cumque eius anima miseri
corporis ad hostium depul-
saret et non audens egredi
dolore nimis extuaret, vidit
demonum globum ante sui pre-
sentiam preparatum⁹

3. minitantium et dicentium:
“Quid est hoc, quare nos mor-
amur? Forsitan venit angelus
Michael cum angelorum[plebe]
ut nos opprimat et illam ani-
mam quam per annos multos
in nostris vinculis constrinxi-
mus nobis eripiat.”

4. Tunc unus de nefanda de-
monum plebe subiunxit “Nol-
ite timere, nostra est. Ego
scio opera ejus; ego semper
cum illa die noctuque per-
mansi.”

5. Tunc (m)estuans illa mis-
era anima dicere cepit:

⁹ Batiouchkof translates: *L'âme voit des démons qui lui présentent un globe. Romania*, Vol. xx, p. 5. His mistake was noted by L. Katona, *Romania*, Vol. xxviii, p. 269.

Thorpe (T)

2. Hê geseah sumes mannes sâwle, sêo waes genƿded, ƿaet hêo sceolde of hyre lichoman ût-gangan; ac sêo earme sâwl ne dorste ût-gân, for ƿâm ƿe hêo geseah ƿâ âwyrgeðan gâstas beforan hyre standan.

3. ƿâ ƿaet dêofol hrye tô cwaeð: "Hwaet is ƿis, ƿaet ƿû dêst? Tô hwan yldst ƿû, ƿaet ƿû ût ne gange? Wên is, ƿaet Michael, se hêahengel, cume mid engla ƿrêate, and ƿê genime raðe."

4. ƿâ sum ôðer dêofol him andwyrde and cwaeð: "Ne ƿurfe gê êow ondræðan: ic wât hyre worc, and ic symble mid hyre waes daeges and nihtes."

5. Sêo earme sâwel hîg ƿâ waes behealdende and hêo ongan earmlice cleopian and cwaeð:

Napier (N)

2. ƿâ geseah hê sume earme sâwle ût fundigende of hyre lichaman, ac hêo ne dorste ût gân, forðâm ƿe hêo geseah ƿâ âwyrgeðan gâstas beforan hyre standan.

3. ƿâ cwaeð an ƿaera dêofla tô hyre: "Hwaet is ƿîn ƿriding? Hwî nelt ðû ût gân? Wên ys, ƿaet Michael, se hêahengel, cume mid engla ƿrêatum and wyle ƿê geniman of ûs."

4. ƿâ andwyrde sum ôðer dêofol and cwaeð: "Nese: ic wât ealle hyre weorc, and ic waes daeges and nihtes mid hyre and hî bewiste, and heo â ful georne hlyste mînre lâre and georne fyligde."

5. Sêo earme sâwul beseah uppan ƿone dêofol and earmlice clypode:

Sermo 69 (69)

6. Heu mihi! quare unquam nata fui aut creata? Vae mihi! quare unquam in hoc corpus intravi? Vae mihi, quod unquam in isto pessimo carcere carnis exstiti!

7. Vae tibi corpus miserum! quare alienas rapuisti pecunias? Tu facultates pauperum et substantias eorum in domum tuam congregasti. Tu cibariis delicatis te nutriebas, et ego salutem nostram esuriebam. Tu vinum bibebas saporosum, et ego fontem vitae sitiebam. Tu te pretiosis decorasti vestibus, me nuda existente virtutibus.

8. Tu quidem fecundum eras, et ego macra; tu rubicundum, et ego pallida; tu hilare, et ego moesta. Tu ridebas, et ego flebam; tu gaudebas, et ego dolebam. Tu semper mihi contraria egisti,

9. modo es esca vermium et putredo ac pulvis. Requiesces per modicum tempus in terra, et postea mecum in infernum deduceris, tormenta sicut et ego passurum aeterna.

10. His dictis, corpus sudare coepit ac spiritum reddere.

11. Tunc ille diabolus angelus satanae, qui non in bono, sed in malo custos et instinator

Batiouchkof (B)

6. "Heu me, heu me, quare unquam in corpore illud tenebrosum et pessimum ingredi merui!

7. Ve tibi, misera anima, quare pecunias et alienas facultates et substantias pauperum tulisti et congregasti in domo tua! Tunc bibebas vinum et nimis decorasti carnes tuas illusterrimis vestibus et pulcherrimis.

8. Tu eras fecunda, o caro, et ego maculenta; tu eras virgens, et ego pallida; tu eras hillaris, et ego tristis; tu ridebas et ego semper plorabam.

9. Modo eris esca vermium et putredo pulveris, et requiesces modicum tempus, et me deduxisti cum fletu ad inferos."

10. Tunc cepit corpus mutari et facies sudare ad hostium corporis.

11. Tunc dixerunt qui custodes erant:

Thorpe (T)

6. "Wâ mê earmre! Tô hwon sceolde ic æfre gesceapen bêon, oððe for hwon sceolde ic æfre in-gangan on þisne fûlestan and wyrrestan lichoman!"

7. Hêo þâ lôcade tô hyre lichoman and cwaeth: "Wâ þê, þû earma lichoma, þû þe wære nimende fremdra manna spêda, and þû þe æfre wære ofer eorðan welena strynende, and þû þe gefraetwodeþ þê mid dêorwurðe hraegle.

8. And þû þê wære rêod, and ic mê waes blâc; þû wære glaed, and ic mê waes unrôt; þu hlôge, and ic wêop.

9. Eala þû earma, nû þû byst geworden þaet fûleste hrêaw and wyrma mete: þû rest þê nû medmicle tîd on eorðan, and ic mid sâre and geômununge tô helle sceal bêon læded."

10. Se lichoma ongan þâ swiðe swætan and mislîc hîw brêdan.

11. Þaet dêofol ongan þâ cleopian and cwaeth:

Napier (N)

6. "Wâ mê earmre, þaet ic æfre geboren sceolde wurðan, oððe þaet ic æfre sceolde niman eardungstôwe on þis fûlestan and on þis wyrstan lichaman

7. þe waes â nymende earmrâ manna æhta on unriht. Eala þû earma lichama and wurma mete, â þû wunne aefter eorðlicum welum, and â ðû geglengdest þê mid eorðlicum" hraeglum and forgeate mê.

8. Þonne ðû wære glaed and rêod and gôdes hîwes, þonne waes ic blâc and swyðe unrôt; þonne þû smercodeþ and hlôge, þonne wêop ic biterlice.

9. Eala þû earma lichama, nû þû scealt gewurðan tô fûlan hræwe and wrymum tô mete, and ic mid sâre and mid geômerunge sceal tô helle bêon gelæd."

10 Se lichama ongan þâ swætan and mislîc hîw brêdan.

11. And se dêofol hlûdre stefne clypode and cwaeth:

¹¹ Zupitza suggests *weorðlicum* or *etwas Ähnlichem* instead of *eorðlicum*. *Herrig's Archiv*, Vol xci, p. 372, n. 1.

Sermo 69 (S69)

ejus perstitit, eam apprehendens dixit: Nolite, socii, nolite moram facere; sed tridentes acutissimos apprehendite, et cum dolore in oculos ejus figite! quicquid enim vidit sive pulchrum sive turpe, totum concupivit.

12. Pungite os ejus: quia omnia quae desideravit, sive in comedendo sive bibendo vel etiam loquendo, justis vel

injustis nunquam pepercit.

13. Pungite et cor ejus dolosum et falsum, in quo nec pietas nec misericordia nec charitas nec bonitas fuit. Pungite etiam manus ejus rapaces, quae ad furtum, latrocinium et rapinam promptae, et ad opera pietatis tardae fuerunt. Insuper et pedes ejus, qui ad omnem viam malam veloces exstiterunt.

14. Tunc illam miseram animam de corpore ejectam sic membratim punientes, levaverunt super alas suas nigras, tenebrosas et vespertillioneas, ad infernum ipsam deducentes.

15. Et dum sic in itinere esset, vidit anima illa claritatem magnam, et dixit: Ubi, vel quid est illa claritas?

16. Responderunt daemones dicentes: Non agnoscis patriam unde exivisti, quando in hanc peregrinationem venisti? Tu quondam renuntiasti pompis nostris, et per Baptismum ac signum crucis nos expulisti. Audisti Prophetas et Apostolos, audisti etiam sacerdotes et curatos tuos, qui non cessabant tibi viam vitae praedicare, et nomen Salvatoris tui laudare: cor autem tuum a doctrina eorum longe erat.

Batiouchkof (B)

“Apprehendite eam et pungite oculos illius, quia quicquid vidit sive justum sive injustum omnia concupivit.

12. Pungite oriclos illius, quia quicquid desiderabat sive ad manducandum sive ad bibendum sive ad loquendum nunquam parcebat.

13. Pungite cor illius, ubi pietas nec misericordia nec caritas nec bonitas unquam ascendit. Pungite manus

et pedes illius, quia ad malum faciendum currebant.”

14. Tunc extraxerunt animam miseram a corpore cum gemitu et dolore; tunc levaverunt eam super alas suas tenebrosas.

15. Dumque esset in itinere anima illa, vidit magnam claritatem et dicit: “Ubi est ista claritas?”

16. Responderunt demones: “Nonne cognoscis patriam tuam unde existi quando fuisti in peregrinatione? Dum hic fuisti, non nobis abrenuntiasti et pompis nostris per baptismum et signum Christi; audisti prophetas, audisti apostolos, audisti sacerdotes et non cessabas a malis; Christum in labiis tuis nullo modo nominabas, erat enim cor tuum longe ab illo.

Thorpe (T)

“Stingað hyne mid sære on his êagan, for þan eal, swâ hwaet swâ hê mid his êagan geseah unrihtes, ealles hê his gyrnde.

12. Stingað hyne mid sære on his mûð, for þon eal, swâ hwaet swâ hyne lyste etan oððe drincan oððe sprecan, eall hê hit âraefnde.

13. Stingað hyne mid sære on his heortan, for þon þe on hyre ne wunode ârfaestnis ne mildheortnes nê Godes lufu.

14. Hîg genâman þâ þâ earman sâwle mid micle sære and geômorunge and hî âsettan ofer hyre þâ sweartestan fyðra

15. And, mid þi þe hî wæron fêrende, sêo earme sâwl geseah miccle beorhtnesse: hêo âxode þâ dêoflu, hwaet sêo beorhtnysse wære.

16. Hîg hyre andwyrden and cwæden: “Ne ongytst þû,

Napier (N)

“Stingað stranglîc sâr on his êagan, forðâm, swâ hwaet swâ hê unrihtes geseah, þaet waes eall sylfwilles.

12. Stingað hine scearplîce on þone mûð, forði, swâ hwaet swâ hine lyste etan oððe drincan oððe on unnyt sprecan, eall hê hit âraefnode.

13. Stingað hine mid sorhlîcum sære on his heortan, forðâm þe on hyre newunode ârfaestnys ne mildheortnys nê godes lufu.”

14. þâ dêoflu feredon þâ earman sâwle þâ tô þýstrum.

15. þâ geseah hêo be þâm wege mycele beorhtnyssa: þâ âxode hêo þâ dêoflu, þê hî læddon, hwaet sêo beorhtnys wære.

16. Hî cwædon: “Ne ongytst ðû, þaet hit ys heofonan rîces

Sermo 69 (69)

17. Modo transis juxta patriam illam unde prima venisti, non tamen ibi divertes, nec venies.

18. Choros Angelorum audis, non ad tuam consolationem, sed ad tuam perpetuam desolationem. Claritatem sanctorum videbis, nec tamen ibi habitabis, quemadmodum et nos non facimus, qui de paradiso ejecti sumus: et sicut fuimus ac sumus in perditione, sic et tu nobiscum eris. Usque modo fuisti in peregrinatione, nunc moraberis nobiscum in damnatione, in qua multos habemus socios.

19. Tunc coepit illa misera anima cum dolore et fletu ac gemitu ingenti dicere: Heu me miseram, quod unquam creata fui ac nata, seu in hoc corpus maculatum posita! Heu mihi, quod in ista damnatione posita claritatem aeternam perdiidi, ex qua olim sine macula exivi! Modo video spatiosam viam, quae ducit ad patriam, non tamen perambulabo eam.

20. Tunc perduxerunt eam inimici sic flentem et gementem ad perditionis portas, ubi diabolus ad recipiendum eam praeparatus erat in similitudine draconis; et aperiens fauces suas fetidissimas, ac glutuens eam, revomuit in calidissimum locum igneum, ubi sui consimiles expectant iudicium.

Batiouchkof (B)

17. Modo transis per priuitam patriam tuam et non ibi requiescis nec ullam istorum bonorum presentium leticiam consequeris.

18. Modo audis choros angelorum, modo vides¹² claritatem sanctorum et non ibi habitas, sicut et nos non facimus qui de paradiso eiecti sumus in perditione[m], et tu eris nobiscum usque in sempiternum.

Usque nunc fuisti in peregrinatione, modo eris in perditione, ubi in multorum impiorum societate permanebis."

19. Tunc cepit illa misera cum dolore et gemitu, cum fletu et lacrimis dicere: "Heu me miseram quare unquam fui creata, aut quare perexi in Egiptum et dereliqui claritatem illam, unde sine macula exivi! Modo video illam viam spaciosam de qua in evangelio legitur que ducit ad vallem perditionis!"

20. Erat ibi diabolus praeparatus in similitudine draconis. Aperiens autem fauces suas strictissimas et degluciens, eam evomuit in calidissimum ignem ubi cum sibi consimilibus venturum expectaret iudicium.¹³

¹²Zupitza's emendation; cf. *ibid.*, p. 374, n. 1. MS *audis*. Cf. Sermo 69, *videbis*.

¹³Here follows the vision of the good soul.

Thorpe (T)	Napier (N)
<p>paet hit is heofona rices gefêa, panon þû wære ûtgangende, þâ þû on þinne lichoman in- eodest?</p> <p>17. Nû ðû faerst þurh þâ faegerestan and þâ beorhtestan wununga, ac þû þær ne môst wunian.</p> <p>18. Nû þû gehyrst engla þrêatas,</p> <p>and þû gesyhst eallra hâligra beorhtnessa, and swâþêah þê nis lÿfed þær tô eardianne.</p> <p>19. Sêo earme sâwl þâ ongan mid micelre sâre and wôpe hêofian and cwaeð: "Wâ mê, paet ic æfre swâ earm mid- daneardes lêoht gesêon sce- olde!"</p> <p>20. þâ dêoflu hîg þâ gelæd- dan, and wêpende and geôm- rigende hy sealdon suman fÿ- renan dracan: sê ontÿnde his þâ fÿrenan and þâ scearpestan gôman, and hê hîg swealh and hîg eft âspâw on þâ hattestan lîgas.</p>	<p>gefêa, panon þû wære ær cu- men tô þinum lichaman, þê þû on eorðan on wunodest?</p> <p>17. Nû ðû faerst þurh þâ beorhtan wegas, ac ðû naefst þær nâne wununge.</p> <p>18. Nû ðû gehÿrst engla þrêatas,</p> <p>and ðû gesihst ealra hâligra beorhtnessa, and ðû naefst þær nâne gemânan.</p> <p>19. Hêo ongan þâ wêpendre stefne cweþan: "Wâ mê earm- re, paet ic æfre middaneardes lêoht gesêon sceolde, and paet ic swâ mycele beorhtnesse for- lætan sceolde!"</p> <p>20. þâ dêoflu hî ðâ læddon and bescuton hî ânum fÿrenan dracan innan þone mûð, and hê hî þærrihte forswearh and eft âspâw on þâ hâtostan brynas hellewîtes.</p>

The two Old English homilies must have been translated from a single Latin original though they are independent and very literal translations of it. This original cannot be Bati-ouchkof's text, as Zupitza has already shown.¹⁴ It is evident, furthermore, that it is not Sermo 69. The two Old English homilies, therefore, establish the existence of a third Latin hom-

¹⁴ Herrig's *Archiv*, Vol. xci, p. 375 ff.

ily, which for convenience I may designate by *Y*. Since it is clear that *B*, *S* 69, and *Y* are very early versions, it is of the utmost importance, in attempting to trace the legend to its source, to establish their inter-relations.

It needs but a slight comparison of the texts to show that *B* occupies a medial position, being more nearly related to each of the other two versions than they are to each other. This position *B* holds, not only by reason of its length—being neither so condensed as the Old English homilies nor so elaborated as *Sermo* 69,—but, even more, through its correspondence with each of the other versions in regard to details. *B* and *OE* often agree in the omission of specific phrases and passages found in *S*69¹⁵, while on the other hand *B* and *S*69 often agree in preserving phrases and passages which do not occur in *OE*¹⁶.

In addition to these obvious characteristics of these three versions, it will be necessary to observe and classify their more minute differences and resemblances. In the following details *B* and *S*69 agree and *OE* differs from them: the scene is laid in Egypt (§1); the man when alive was rich, and did all the evil he could (§2); *all the devils speak to one another*, in *OE*, *one devil speaks to the soul*¹⁷ (§3); *S*69 *unus ex diabolis*, *B* *unus de nefanda demonum*, *OE* *sum ôðer dêofol* (§4); *S*69 and *B* *pallida*, *OE* *blâc* (§8); *S*69 *esca vermium et putredo ac pulvis* *B* *esca vermium et putredo pulveris*, *T* *fûleste hrêaw and wyrma mete*, *N* *fûlan hrêawe and wýrmum tô mete* (§9); *S*69 *custos*, *B* *custodes*; *S*69 *eam apprehendens*, *B* *apprehendite eam* (§11); *S*69 *dixit*, *B* *dicit*, *OE* *âxode*; *S*69 and *B* *ubi* (§15); *S*69 and *B* *patriam*, *T* *heofona rîces gefêa*, *N* *heofonan rîces gefêa*; *S*69 *peregrinationen*, *B* *peregrinatione*, *T* *lichoman*, *N* *lichaman* (§16); *S*69 and *B* *patriam*, *T* *pâ faegerestan and pâ beorhtestan wununga*, *N* *pâ beorhtan wegâs* (§17); *S*69 *diabolus ad recipiendum eam praeparatus erat in similitudine draconis*, *B*

¹⁵ Compare §§ 7, 11, 13, etc.

¹⁶ Compare §§ 2, 13, 16, 18, etc.

¹⁷ This is clearly a mistake, because a devil, not the soul, answers and addresses the other devils as though all had shown fear of the archangel as in *S*69 and *B*.

Erat ibi diabolus preparatus in similitudine draconis, T suman fȳrenan dracan, N ânun fȳrenan dracan (§ 20).

In the following details *B* agrees with *OE* and differs from *S69*. *B audens egredi, OE dorste út, S69 exire tardabat (§ 2); B angelus Michael, OE Michael, se hêahencgel, S69 Michael (§ 3); B cum angelorum plebe, T mid engla prâte, N mid engla prêatum, S 69 cum sociis (§ 3); B die noctuque, OE daeges and nihtes, S69 diebus ac noctibus (§ 4); B in corpore illud tenebrosum et pessimum, T þisne fûlestan and wyrrestan lichomon, N þis fûlestan and on þis wyrstan lichaman, S69 in hoc corpus...in isto pessimo carcere carnis (§ 6); Body in B and OE, begins to change color (§ 10); B Tunc extraxerunt animam miseram a corpore cum gemitu et dolore, T Hig genâman þa þa earman sâwle mid micle sâre and geômorunge, S69 Tunc illam miseram animam de corpore ejectam (§ 14); B. per, OE þurh, S69 iuxta; B non ibi requiescis, T ac þû þær ne môst wunian, N ac ðu naefst þær nâne wununge, S69 non ibi diver-tes, nec venier (§ 17).*

Finally, a third class of correspondences may be noted in which the Old English homilies differ from *B* but agree with *S69*. These agreements of *S69* and *OE* in details not found in *B* make it impossible to regard *B* as the source from which the other versions have been derived. Thus, in *OE* and *S69* the story is ascribed only to a certain holy man, in *B* to Macarius (§ 1); *S69 respondens dixit, OE andwyrde and cwæð, B subiunxit; S69 fui, OE waes, B permansi (§ 4); S69 quare unquam nata fui aut creata, T Tô hwon sceolde ic æfre gesceapen bêon, N þaet ic æfre geboren sceolde wurðan; S69 exstiti, T sceolde ingangen. N sceolde niman, B ingredi merui (§ 6); S69 corpus, T lichoma, N lic hama, B anima (§ 7); S69 ille diabolus, T þæt (N se) dêofol, in *B* this subject is plural and is not expressed (§ 11); *S69 cum dolore, T mid sâre, N sâr (§ 11); S69 os, OE mûð, B oriclos¹⁸ (§ 12); S69 ad infernum ipsam de-**

¹⁸ Batiouchkof translates this word literally *oreilles*, Zupitza asks in a note (p. 372) *was ist das?* The other versions, however, make it clear that *oriclos* is a mistake for some word meaning *mouth*. Cf. Holthausen, Herrig's *Archiv*, Vol. xcii, p. 412.

ducentes, *N* þâ dêoflu feredon þâ earman sâwle þâ tô þýstrum (§ 14); *S69 quid*, *OE hwaet* (§ 15); *S69 venisti*, *T êodest*, *N wære cumen*, *B fuisti* (§ 16); *S69 Tunc perduxerunt eam inimici*, *T* þâ dêoflu hīg þâ gelæddan, *N* þâ dêoflu hi ȝâ læddon (§ 20).

If neither of the three versions is the source of the other two, the question arises: are they, then, remotely parallel versions, or do they go back to some definite common source? In answer to this question, it may be said that even where verbal differences exist, there are such likenesses in idea as to prove that the three versions have a definite common original. Let us note: *S69 diabolos ante se praeparatos videbat*, *B vidit demonum globum ante sui presentiam preparatum*, *OE geseah þâ âwyrgedan gâstas beforan hyre standan* (§ 2); *S69 Quomodo tardatur? Cur fit hoc? Quare facit tot moras? B Quid est hoc, quare nos moramur? T Hwaet is þis, þaet þû dēst? Tô hwan gyldest þû? N Hwaet is þin þrīding?* (§ 3); *S69 postea mecum in infernum deduceres*, *B et me deduxisti cum fletu ad inferos*, *T and ic mid sære and geômurunge tô helle sceal bêon lēded*, (*N* is almost the same) (§ 9); *S69 Tunc through dixit*, *B Tunc dixerunt, qui custodes erunt*, *T þaet dêofol ongan þâ cleopian and cwaeð*, *N And se dêofol hlūdre stefne clypode and cwaeð* (§ 11); *S69 pulchrum sive turpe*, *B justum sive injustum*, *OE unrihtes* (§ 11); *S69 Tu quondam renuntiasti* through the section, *B Dum hic fuisti* through the section (§ 16); *S69 quod unquam creata fui ac nata*, *B quare unquam fui creata, aut quare perexi in Egiptum*, *OE þaet ic æfre . . mid-dancardes lēoht gesêon sceolde* (§ 19); *S69 and B Modo video* through the section (§ 19).

The differences between the three versions have made it clear that no one of them is the source of the other two; the likenesses, that they proceed definitely, if not directly, from a common source. This unknown original, undoubtedly Latin, probably a homily, we may designate as *Z*.

As to the precise character of this *Z*, I can say little: in regard to several points, however, one may feel comparative con-

fidence. In the first place, the name Macarius was probably retained in *Z* since it appears in *B*, and also in a vision written in Greek by a certain Alexander,¹⁹ which, according to Batiouchkof, was one of the sources of the Body and Soul legend. The vision of the good soul, likewise, although it is preserved only in *B*, probably was included in *Z* because it appears again in the Old English poem, *The Address of the Soul to the Body*. This Old English poem, as I shall endeavor to show later,²⁰ can not derive from the Latin text *B*, but must go back instead to *Z*. In length, *Z* must be nearer *B* than either of the others, since only in this way can we account for the greater resemblances between *B* and *S69*, and *B* and *OE*, as compared with those between *S69* and *OE*. *S69*, *B*, and *OE* are, however, so closely related to one another that their points of divergence from *Z* must, in any case, be very slight. It should be noted, too, that *Z*—not *B*—becomes now the meeting point of the various elements which, as Batiouchkof showed, made up this vision.

II.

We have, thus far, defined as closely as possible the relation of the three texts to their lost original, and the character of this original, *Z*. I wish now to determine to what extent this view of the derivation of the text obliges us to modify the accepted theory as to the later development of the Body and Soul legend. To this end let us consider in detail the relations of the later versions to those we have studied thus far, following in the main the work of Batiouchkof. In the parallel now to be undertaken, the Old English homilies are consistently briefer and less important than either *Sermo 69* or Batiouchkof's text; it will not be necessary, therefore, to cite them in each particular instance.

We turn first to the Old English poem, the *Address of the*

¹⁹ Text in Migne, *Patr. Graeca*, Vol. LXXVIII, pp. 385-395; cf. Batiouchkof's discussion of this vision, *Romania*, Vol. xx, pp. 9-17.

²⁰ See below, p. 97f.

*Soul to the Body*²¹ (*Ad.*). The resemblances between this poem and *B* have been fully studied by Batiouchkof. The version *S69* does not furnish a parallel for the entire poem, as does *B*; it is significant to note, however, that in so far as *S69* does furnish a parallel for the poem, it resembles *Ad.* more nearly than does *B*. Thus, the lament of the soul over its captivity in *Ad.* finds a much closer parallel in *S69* than in *B*:

"& þu me . . . gehæftnedest helle witum. / Eardode ic þe on innan: ne meahte ic ðe of cuman / flæsce befanzen" (Vercelli Text, vv. 32-4).

Beside this, place the corresponding passage in *S69*; "Vae mihi! quare unquam in hoc corpus intravi? Vae mihi, quod unquam in isto pessimo carcere carnis exstiti!" In *B*, on the other hand, this emphasis on the captivity of the soul is lacking: "Heu me, heu me, quare unquam in corpore illud tenebrosus et pessimum ingredi merui!"

Again, in a passage in *Ad.* which Batiouchkof cited as parallel to *B*, the resemblance to *S69* is still closer.

"Wære þu þe wiste wlanc & wines sæd, / þrymful þunedest & ic ofþyrested wæs / ȝodes lichoman, ȝastes drynces." (Vercelli Text, vv. 39-41.)

S69: "Tu cibariis delicatis te nutriebas, et ego salutem nostram esuriebam. Tu vinum bibebas saporosum, et ego fontem vitae sitiebam. Tu te pretiosis decorasti vestibus, me nuda existente virtutibus."

B: "Tunc bibebas vinum et nimis decorasti carnes tuas illustrissimis vestibus et pulcherrimis."²²

The special points in which *Ad.* resembles *S69* rather than *B* are the details of food and spirit's drink, and more especially the antithetical style.

In yet another passage where *Ad.* definitely refers to the

²¹Grein-Wülker, *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Poesie*, Bd. II, pp. 92-107; Thorpe, *Codex Exoniensis*, p. 367-377.

²²Batiouchkof, *Ibid.*, page 7, quotes also the next few lines: *Tu eras fecunda*, etc. These are almost identical in *B* and in *S69*, and in the case of *S69* are quite unnecessary for the above resemblance.

events of the Last Judgment²³ the time reference in the corresponding passage in *B* is confused.

"*Modo eris esca vermium et putredo pulveris, et requiesces modicum tempus, et me deduxisti cum fletu ad inferos.*" The soul thus speaks of the corruption of its body in the future, then, although the scene is at the death bed, says that it has already been led to inferno by the body. After *requiesces modicum tempus*, as Batiouchkof remarked²⁴, one expects a reference to the Last Judgment. If we turn now to *S69* this confusion is explained.

"*Requiesces per modicum tempus in terra, et postea mecum in infernum deduceris, tormenta sicut et ego passurum aeterna.*" The future tense is preserved throughout; *postea* also refers distinctly to a definite time after which the body will share the soul's punishment, in other words, to the Judgment day. This allusion, in a later version, may easily have been expanded into an explicit reference to the Last Judgment.

Only one other parallel, pointed out by Batiouchkof, remains to be considered. This is the reference to the riches of the dead man ("Ve tibi, . . . quare pecunias et alienas facultates . . . tulisti et congregasti."). Here, *S69*, though no nearer *Ad.* than *B* is, is equally close.

With the single exception of the point just mentioned where *S69* and *B* stand equally close to *Ad.*, it will be seen that *Sermo 69* approaches nearer than Batiouchkof's text to the form of the Old English *Address*. This parallel, however, extends only through the first half of the poem. The second half of the *Address* deals with the speech of the good soul, and this, as we have already seen, is lacking in *S69*. *B*, on the other hand, contains also the vision of the good soul, though it affords no closer parallel to the Old English poem in the second half than in the first.²⁵

Where then does the obvious dependence of *Ad.* on this vision lie? Batiouchkof, after studying all these resemblances

²³ *Ad.* vv. 87-106 (Grein-Wülker II, 101-3; Thorpe, p. 369).

²⁴ *Romania*, Vol. xx, p. 7.

²⁵ For a detailed account of these parallels cf. *Romania*, Vol. xx, p. 8.

between *Ad.* and *B*, concludes: "Les rapports indiqués entre le poème anglo-saxon et la légende latine nous prouvent qu'il y a un fond commun dans les deux versions, mais nous ne croyons nullement que le texte latin ait été la source directe du poème."²⁶ This is the conclusion now forced on us by the comparison of the two versions in their relation to *Ad.* The closer resemblances of *Ad.* in its first half to *S69* make the theory that *Ad.* was influenced by *B*, untenable. It is equally impossible to believe that the author of *Ad.* followed *S69*, because of the parallel of *Ad.* and *B* in the second half. *Ad.*, therefore, must depend on neither *S69* nor *B*, but must go back to their common source, *Z*.

We may next inquire in what way the group of homilies we have been considering is related to the Latin *Visio Fulberti* (*L*)²⁷ and the Old French *Samedi* (*F*).²⁸ In these poems we study two of the most important representatives of a distinct type of Body and Soul poems—those in which there is a debate between the body and soul.

The first speech of the soul in the *Visio* conforms, as Batiouchkof points out, in general to the greater part of the speech of the soul in the *Samedi*: "Les deux textes ne font que développer librement, chacun à sa manière, les idées qui sont indiquées brièvement dans la légende latine en prose du ms. de Rome, quand l'âme prend congé de son corps:

'Ve tibi, misera anima, quare pecunias et alienas facultates et substantias pauperum tulisti et congregasti in domo tua? Tunc bibebas vinum, et nimis decorasti carnes tuas illustrissimis vestibibus et pulcherrimis.'"²⁹

Exactly the same ideas appear in the corresponding passage in *S69*, so that in this respect it is just as close to the debate poems as is *B*. In other ways, however, this portion of *S69* shows distinctly the closer resemblance to those poems.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²⁷ Ed. du Ménil, *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au douzième siècle*, pp. 217 ff.

²⁸ Varnhagen, *Erlanger Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, Heft I, Anhang I. In connection with this poem Batiouchkof studies a Norwegian debate of the body and soul of the 12th century, which is very much like *F*. As I do not know this version I have been unable to consider it in this article.

²⁹ *Romania*, Vol. xx, p. 518.

The opening lines of the soul's speech in *L* read as follows:

"O Caro miserrima! quis te sic prostravit,
quam mundus tam prospere praediis ditavit?

6. "Nonne tibi pridie mundus subdebatur?
Nonne te provincia tota verebatur?
Ubi nunc familia quae te sequebatur?
Cauda tua florida jam num amputatur?

7. "Non es nunc in turribus de petris quadratis,
sed nec in palatiis magnae qualitatis;
quae delata feretro parvae quantitatis
nunc jaces in tumulto breviori satis."

This passage, with its contrasts between the body's present and former condition, shows a markedly antithetical style. These same antitheses occur also in *F* though they are less numerous.

"U sont li bon destrier?
Ne pues mais cheualcier?
Ia ne les uerras mais;
Chi giras tu pusnais.

85. U sont ti uestement
Et ti cher garniment?

.....

Et ou sont ti ami?

90. Ia sont tot departi."³⁰

The suggestion for these antitheses could not well have come from *B*, but may easily have been taken from *S69*, which exhibits this same antithetical style: Here, however, the contrasts are drawn between the condition of the body and that of the soul.

"Vae tibi corpus miserum! quare alienas rapuisti pecunias?
Tu facultates pauperum et substantias eorum in domum tuam congregasti. Tu cibariis delicatis te nutriebas, et ego salutem nostram esuriebam. Tu vinum bibebas saporosum, et ego fontem vitae sitiebam. Tu te pretiosis decorasti vestibus, me nuda existente virtutibus."

³⁰ I quote from the P text.

There is a still better parallel between *S69* and *L* in the beginning of the soul's speech in *S69* where the soul, seeing the devils eagerly awaiting it, cries out: *Heu mihi! quare unquam nata fui aut creata?* Though with a slight change of meaning the soul in *L* uses the same words.

10. "O caro miserrima! mecum es damnata;
 si sciris supplicia nobis praeparata,
 vere posses dicere: Heu! quod (quum?) fui nata?"

A corresponding passage in *F* parallels these lines closely, merely changing the wish from the first to the second person.

53. "Chaitis, maleures,
 Mal fuisses onques nes."

In *B* there is no parallel for these lines.

The last sentence of the soul's speech in *S96*, as the first, is closely paralleled in *L*.

S69: "Requiesces per modicum tempus in terra, et postea mecum in infernum deduceris, tormenta sicut et ego passurum aeterna."

- L* 23. "Et licet non sentias nunc tormenta dura,
 scito quod suppliciis non es caritura;
 nam testantur omnium prophetarum jura
 quod tormenta postmodum mecum es passura."

The *requiesces per modicum tempus* of *S69* is essentially the same as the *non sentias nunc tormenta dura* of *L*. And the last phrases of each are almost identical. There is in *B* only a confused passage to place beside the one from *S69*, and its resemblance to *L* is very slight.

We have finished now the consideration of the speeches of the soul to the body in *S69* and *B* so far as they offer parallels to *L* and *F*. And throughout this speech *S69* has shown the closer resemblance to the phrasing of both *L* and *F*. We shall take up, at this point, the second half of the vision in *B* and *S69*, the scene with the devils.

The speech of the devils when they seize the soul and demand that the various members of the body be punished for their different sins, Batiouchkof thinks, influenced lines 359-438 of *F*.²¹ This passage, which does not occur in *L*, describes

²¹ *Romania*, Vol. xx, pp. 519-20.

the corruption of the body after death, member by member. The passage in *S69* corresponding to the one noted by Batiouchkof in *B*, bears just as close a resemblance to this description in *F*.

There are, also, certain other resemblances to *F* in this speech of the devils in *B* and, more especially, in *S69*. Compare *F*:

687 "C'onques ne uis mantel
Ne precious uaiscel,
Tresor d'or e d'argent
.....

697 Que tot ne couoitoies
Ce que as ex ueoies."

with *B*: "pungite oculos illius, quia, quicquid vidit sive justum sive injustum omnia concupivit." *S69* has *pulchrum sive turpe* instead of *justum sive injustum*, and is in that point a little nearer *F*.

Again, the charge of perjury which the soul brings against the body in *F* (vv. 40-154) may be a reminiscence of the sentence in *S69*: "Pungite os ejus: quia omnia quae desideravit, sive in comedendo sive bibendo vel etiam *loquendo*, *justis vel injustis nunquam pepercit*." *B*, on the other hand, omitting the *justis vel injustis*, fails to connect the body's license in speech with injury to others, that is, it does not suggest perjury.

More important than the two likenesses just noted is the motive of the soul's baptism.

S69: "Tu quondam renuntiasti pompis nostris, et per Baptismum ac signum crucis nos expulisti. Audisti Prophetas et Apostolos, audisti etiam sacerdotes et curatos tuos, qui non cessabant tibi viam vitae praedicare, et nomen Salvatoris tui laudare: cor autem tuum a doctrina eorum longe erat." This passage, though a part of the devils' speech in *S69*, in *F* is introduced by the soul itself.

121. "Tu recheus baptesme
Par oile et par le cresse.
Deable renoias
Et od deu t'aiostas.

125. Mais d'icele aiostee
Fu brieue la duree."

In *B* this passage is put in the negative: 'You did *not* renounce our pomps', etc., and therefore it resembles *F* but slightly.

It is in the scene where the devils carry off the soul that *F* and *L* run most closely parallel to the Latin homilies *B* and *S69*. In these poems, as in the homilies, as soon as the soul ceases speaking, the devils carry it off to hell, gloating over their prey, while the soul laments. Batiouchkof, though he refers casually to the resemblance of *F* and *L* to *B* in the devil scene, does not seem to perceive its significance.³² To me this parallel is important as indicating that the poetical versions follow the structure of the homilies as a whole instead of reproducing merely the vision setting and the soul's rebuke of the body.

The extent to which *F* and *L* are indebted in this scene to their homiletical source becomes more evident when they are compared in detail with *S69*. For in this scene *S69*, with its greater abundance of detail and its clearer expression of the thought, supplies many points of agreement with the poetical versions which are not to be found in *B*.

The most significant of these resemblances is the way in which the devils seize the soul. In *S96* as soon as the soul has ceased to speak, one of the devils says:

"Nolite, socii, nolite moram facere; sed tridentes acutissimos apprehendite, et cum dolore in oculos ejus figite! quidquid enim vidit, sive pulchrum sive turpe, totum concupivit."

And in the same way he commands them to tear the mouth, heart, feet, and hands of the corpse.

"Tunc illam miseram animam de corpore ejectam sic membratim punientes, levaverunt super alas suas nigras, tenebrosas et vespertillioneas, ad infernum ipsam deducentes." In *L* the scene is very similar. When the soul ends its last speech, two devils enter:

³² *Romania*, Vol. xx, p. 531.

67. "Ferreos in manibus stimulos gerentes,
.....

69. "Isti cum furcinulis animam carpserunt,
quam secum ad inferos gementem traxerunt:
.....

70 (v. 3) quidam uncis ferreis ipsam diruperunt."

Then follows a description of how the devils insulted the soul with mention of the face and mouth in particular;

71 (v. 4) "et tandem a corpore pellem extraxerunt."

In *F* this scene is briefly described:

1063 "L'ame estoit entre II
Com aignel entre lous,
.....

1067 "Li felon l'en portoient
De rien ne l'espargnoient,
Pechoient li le dos

1070 Et le uentre et les os."

Here there is a distinct influence of *S69* in that the devils are said to prick the separate members, the back, the stomach, and mouth.

In these devil scenes the speeches of the devils, too, offer some parallels. In *L* when the devils have ceased tormenting the soul, it cries out *Jesu, fili David!* The devils answer:

74 (v. 2) "Tarde nimis invocas nomen tui Dei;
parum prodest amodo MISERERE MEI;
non est ultra veniae spes vel requiei.

75 "Non lumen de caetero videbis diei;
decor immutabitur utae speciei,
nostrae sociaberis dehinc aciei;
nam sic apud inferos consolantur rei."

In *S69*, likewise, the devils dwell on the hopelessness of the soul's condition. The situation is slightly different, however; the soul's misery arises not from the fact that it cannot see the brightness of day, but because it does see the brightness of heaven but may not dwell there.

"Choros Angelorum audis, non ad tuam consolationem, sed ad tuam perpetuam desolationem. Claritatem sanctorum vide-

bis, nec tamen ibi habitabis, quemadmodum et nos non facimus, qui de paradiso ejecti sumus: et sicut fuimus ac sumus in perditione, sic et tu nobiscum eris. Usque modo fuisti in peregrinatione, nunc moraberis nobiscum in damnatione, in qua multos habemus socios."

It is significant that in *L* as in *S69* the soul becomes the *socius* of the devils.

In *F* the speech of the devil is, for the most part, merely a repetition of the soul's sins, and, therefore, is very little like the two speeches we have been considering. The hopelessness of the soul's condition, however, is stated, though not amplified as in the other versions.

1049 "Or se repentiroit
Li fel, se il pooit.
N'i a mais recourance."

This speech ends, likewise, as did the others with the promise that the soul will be one of the company of devils.

1061 "En la grant pullentie
Nos feras compaignie."

In the scene in which the devils carry the soul to hell there is one detail in which the accounts of both *F* and *L* exhibit confusion. Thus, in *L* the devils, by pricking the members of the body, succeed in tearing off the skin *after the soul has been separated from the body* and borne off to hell: and in *F* the devils prick the members of the body *when carrying off the soul from the body*. This confusion may easily have arisen from a careless reading of *S69* or some similar version. In *S69* the devils torment the members of the body on earth in order to tear the soul from the body, and then they carry the soul to hell. In the debate poems the devils torment the members of the body in order to punish the soul; in *L* this scene occurs after they have carried the soul to hell, in *F* it takes place on the way to hell. Thus in the *place* and in the *purpose* of the tormenting, the two poems differ from the homily; the *manner* in which this torture of the body is accomplished is the same in the three versions; and in all three the incident is intimately connected with the flight of the devils with the soul to hell.

The fact that *F* and *L* agree in this confusion would indicate that they were based on some intermediate version in which the mistake had already been made.

Our comparison of Sermo 69 and *B* with the metrical versions *F* and *L* is now completed, and the conclusion to which it leads us may be stated in a word. In every instance *S69* has shown closer resemblance than *B* to *L* and *F*. Hence it is impossible longer to regard these metrical versions as lineally descended from *B*, though, of course, they derive ultimately from the parent version, *Z*.

It remains now to inquire more particularly as to the relation between *L* and *F* and Sermo 69. In the first place, it may be affirmed without hesitation that *S69* cannot be the immediate source of these metrical versions, for the reason that it lacks the debate between the body and soul which, as we have seen, is found in both *L* and *F*. Batiouchkof, in order to account for the form of the legend in these poems, postulated the existence of a lost version, *O*, in which the debate between the body and soul was for the first time introduced, and supposed that this hypothetical version was the direct source of *L* and the indirect source of *F*.³³

Still another intermediate version, Batiouchkof believed, was necessary in order to effect the transition from *B*³⁴ to *O*. To supply this link he introduced another hypothetical version, *I*, which he conceived to have been the direct source of *O*. "Il est à signaler, en premier lieu, que ce n'est que la première partie de la légende latine, où il s'agit de l'âme d'un pécheur, qui a été utilisée par l'auteur de *O*. Ensuite le discours que l'âme adresse à son corps en prenant congé de lui a dû être notablement allongé déjà dans cette version intermédiaire * * * , bien que le fond en soit indiqué dans la légende en

³³ The existence of the Norwegian version makes it necessary to suppose an Old French poem between *O* and *F*, which, serving as the source of the Norwegian poem and the *Samedi*, accounts for their likenesses. Cf. *Romania*, Vol. xx, p. 526 f.

³⁴ Batiouchkof, of course, was working on the assumption that *L* and *F* were lineally descended from *B*.

prose. Il se peut que déjà le récit du jugement dernier y fût intercale.⁸⁵ "Nous insistons seulement sur ce que le discours de l'âme dans la version intermédiaire a été sensiblement allongé."⁸⁶ "Il est probable que dans la version intermédiaire *I*, * * * le nom du visionnaire ne figurait plus."⁸⁷

Is there reason, now, for regarding *S69* as identical with the hypothetical version *I*? Most of the requirements of *I*, it will be noticed, are satisfied by the version in *S69*. Thus, *S69* contains the vision of the bad soul only, and it does not mention the name of the visionary. Moreover, though *S69* does not give an account of the Last Judgment, it clearly alludes to the Judgment, as has been pointed out, in its reference to the time after which soul and body reunited shall begin their eternal suffering. This allusion might easily have been made into a direct reference to the Last Judgment, and then expanded into a detailed account of it. Batiouchkof's hesitancy as to the inclusion of this motive among the characteristics of *I* makes it probable that some such explanation of its presence is the correct one.

In one point, on the other hand, *S69* fails to conform to the hypothetical *I*, as it has been outlined by Batiouchkof. The speech of the soul in *I*, Batiouchkof supposes, was much more developed than in the earlier versions. In *S69*, however, this speech is not appreciably longer than in *B*. Is this fact in itself decisive against the identification of *S69* as the hypothetical *I*?

Let us notice in the first place that we expect the longer speech in *I*, because, in postulating intermediate versions between two forms differing so widely in length as the speech in *B* and the debates in *F* and *L*, it is natural to suppose that this greater length came about by a gradual process, and that each of the intermediate versions was longer than the one before. At the same time, so long as the foundation of the speech remains the same, as it does in *I*, this greater length must be gained

⁸⁵ *Romania*, Vol. xx, p. 529.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 530.

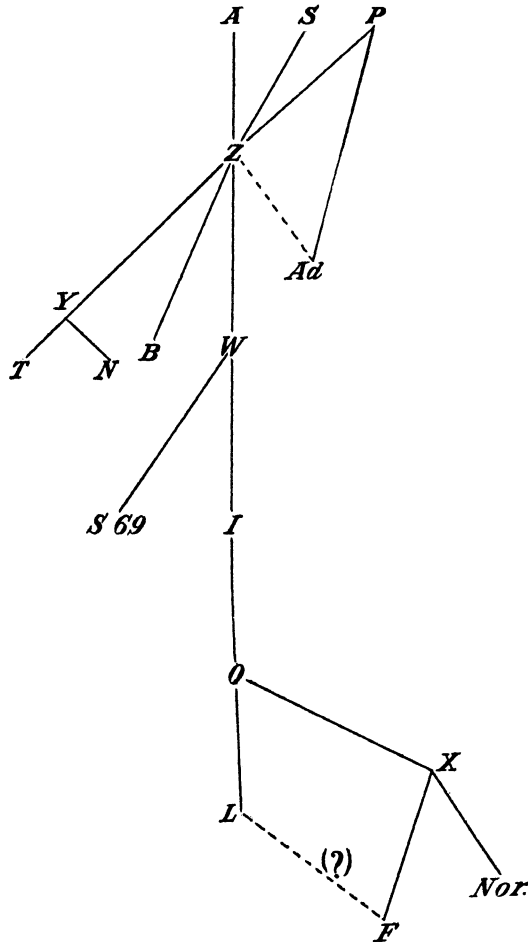
⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 532.

entirely by multiplication of details. Now which details were added in *I*, and which in *O*, it is impossible to determine without more accurate knowledge of *I*, or *O*. Batiouchkof himself, though he insists upon the greater length of the speech in *I*, makes no attempt to define its additional contents. In other words it cannot be objected that *S69* is not identical with Batiouchkof's hypothetical *I* on the ground that certain specific elements, which should be present in *I*, do not appear in *S69*. Moreover, though the speech of the soul in *S69* is but slightly longer than in *B*, it exhibits more resemblances and more significant ones to the later poems, *L* and *F*, than does *B*, and in this way it shows much of the increased nearness to *L* and *F*, which *B* would gain from greater length.

To reject as impossible the identification of *S69* and *I* on this ground alone, especially when our basis for inference is so uncertain, seems unreasonable. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that Latin homiletical literature must have afforded many other versions of the Body and Soul legend besides those which we have before us. It would be rash, therefore, to insist that in Sermo 69 we have the identical version of the legend which served as the intermediary between *Z* and *O*. But even if *S69* be not actually identical with *I*, the fact that it approaches so near to the form demanded of this hypothetical version shows that its relation to *I* must be more direct than can be accounted for by common descent from the parent version *Z*. This relation to *I* may be explained in three possible ways. We may consider *I* as directly expanded from *S69*. In view of the fact, however, that we know so little in regard to the date of this homily, I hesitate to put it forward as the source of *I*, for it must be remembered that *I* is itself the ancestor by two removes of the *Visio Fulberti*. Again, *S69* might conceivably be regarded as based immediately upon *I*, and somewhat condensed from it. Third,—and this seems to me preferable—we may conjecture that *S69* and *I* derive from an unknown version (*W*) in which the legend had already developed to essentially the form represented by Sermo 69. Whichever of

these explanations be adopted, Sermo 69 is distinctly of value in establishing the existence of Batiouchkof's hypothetical *I*. If *S69* does not actually supply the needed link in the chain, it at least goes far toward confirming Batiouchkof's reasoning as to the course of the development of the legend.

The relation between the several versions of the Body and Soul theme which have here been discussed may be indicated by the following chart:



In this chart *A* is the Greek legend attributed to Alexander the ascetic;³⁸ *S*, a legend of the way in which a rich man and a poor man die; *P*, the *Visio Pauli*; and *Nor.*, the Norwegian debate of the body and soul.

³⁸*Romania*. Vol. xx, p. 9.

The results which have been gained by this study of Sermo 69, as they appear now, are as follows: (1.) We have established the existence of what, so far as is now known, is the earliest form of the Body and Soul legend, *Z*. (2) We have confirmed Batiouchkof's opinion as to the source of certain passages in the Old English *Address of the Soul to the Body*, and have identified this source with the early version, *Z*. (3). By showing a form more nearly related to *F* and *L* than any of the other known versions, we have strengthened Batiouchkof's theory as to the existence of the intermediate version *I*, and the course of the development of the Body and Soul legend.

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